1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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556 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest
579 broke out. Malleeni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Malleeni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 In 1938 Maiefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had
602 been poisoned by Malleeni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Malleeni from giving burial services as the
[568] representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Malleeni. There was every indication that Maiefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Malleeni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

536 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the
602 light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth
154 contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

● 681 In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*hahabek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has
[577] been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still
[564] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

615 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvi-
681 ous intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his
627 innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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purging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukok." He did this by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through a ceremonial dunning procedure (*nahuel, nahuur;* literally, *follow me,* call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and knives. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangena so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukok system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukok proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard dealing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1964
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and people gave me many pigs, gongs, and rockets. I had to ask only five cuts for them. I was not married, but still I gave the death feasts. Then I bought a young woman [Fungsiasi]. We separated before long. Lonsoni [his present wife, much older than he] came and turned me from her. Fungsiasi's brothers gave me a pig as a dowry payment and Lonsoni paid for it, so that he got the Mahanner rockets I had for a bride-price. I married Lonsoni.

[Age when he lost his eye and broke his leg?] I was about twenty-six. [How long was he married to Fungsiasi?] About two months only. [Question.] I had not yet had intercourse with her when I divorced her. [How long between illness and marriage?] One year. [So he was about twenty-seven when he married for the first time. Immediately after separating from his first wife, he married Lonsoni. He has had no children.]

February 3, 1939

[Notes his avoidance of sibling relationships. Also notes his emphasis on cunningness and difficulties.]

Once I, Manikuri, and Funiaka went to hunt rats. We found a good hole. Manikuri dug. I stood guard at the other outlet. Manikuri didn't follow the hole. He stopped up one end and started digging in the middle. We found another runway and he closed up one outlet and began digging at the other end. I asked why he didn't dig right straight along, since I was guarding the outlet. I said it looked as though he were hunting rats alone and stopped to get them all himself. Then I put my hand down right where he was digging and he drove his digging stick down on it; it went right through my hand. I took a camera stalk and hit him. I was angry. Just then my father came along and dragged Manikuri to the outskirts of Dikimpa. We sat litigating until almost dawn, but Manikuri wouldn't pay his debt. So we went to Kapitan Jacob, who was only a chief then. He punished all three of us by pour- [68]
ing water on us. Kapitan Jacob's family-in-law from Fungwati were there on a visit, and they chewed up kawari nuts and spat them on us so the rats would come and bite us, but Jacob told them not to spit on me because my fault was less. Still Manikuri wouldn't pay a fine, so Jacob hit Funiaka and Manikuri with a rattan switch, two strokes each. He ordered us not to play together any more. He said if he saw us three together again he would beat all three of us. Then we all went home.

Two days later Manikuri, Funiaka, Maninmi, and I went together to Ahurkomale's garden. There were many beans and we stole some. Just